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The People.

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THE PEOPLE

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Greater New York

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PROTEST.

The Class-conscious Proletariat on the Hazleton Massacre.

INDIGNATION—SENSE.

Monster Indignation Mass Meetings in the East Against the Hazleton Tragedy—Calm Reasoning on its Significance—Deliberate Resolves—The Voice of New Haven, Ct., New York, Buffalo, Pittburg, Pa., Westchester County, N. Y., and Many Other Places—The Class Struggle Now at its Hottest; the Birth Pangs of a New Civilization—Wage Slaves Unite!

Even in compressed form, it is impossible to do justice to as much of the majestic, intelligent and emphatic protest, raised by the class-conscious Socialists against the foul deed at Hazleton, as has reached this office. Let a rapid sketch suffice.

On the 18th, a monster Socialist Labor Party parade and mass meeting at Union Square, the biggest ever held by Socialists in this city, took place. The telling transparencies were numerous. One of them read:

Homestead!
Cœur d' Alene!
Buffalo!
Tennessee!
Chicago!
Brooklyn!
Etc., Etc., Etc.!
Hazleton!
Next?!

The parade was so long and the crowd so large that it was nearly 9 p. m. before the assemblage could be called to order by the General Chairman, Wm. L. Brower, of D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., and the speakers could start from the main and the several other stands. The points scored by these, amidst a perpetual storm of applause, were shortly summed up, the following:

Daniel De Leon: "What has happened is as natural as that 2+2 make 4. The working class must lie in what bed it makes for itself. It now chooses to make for itself the bed of capitalism, by upholding the capitalist system with its ballot. The result is that it is slaughtered by Hazleton and other massacres, after being fleeced raw in the shops. Simply to protest against this result is silly. It must lay the axe to the root of the evil, and fell the capitalist system with the S. L. P. ballot."

Ben Hanford: "There is as little chance of peace under the capitalist system as of frost in hell. In the words of Lincoln: 'May these men not have died in vain'!"

James Allman: "The blood of our fellow wage slaves, murdered by the capitalist system, cries to heaven for vengeance. We pledge ourselves to our murdered brothers to avenge them on election day."

Isaac Bennett: "It is not the capitalist class alone that is bespattered with the blood of the miners; the whole labor fakir class is likewise bespattered."

Chas. L. Furman: "Capitalism is fast driving us back into barbarism. Not only are unarmed men shot, but they are shot in the back."

R. Katz: "Mislead by false leaders, our Luzerne County, Pa., fellow wage slaves of the mines voted into the hands of their future murderers the weapons they should have voted into their own hands for the protection of their own class."

L. Malkiel: "Next November the election returns will answer the question whether the proletariat of this city and every where else, where the Socialist Labor party is in the field, is satisfied with the treatment meted out to its class in Hazleton."

W. Berger: "There is no escape from this throat-cutting system other than the Socialist Commonwealth."

Chas. Franz: "By means of our present government by injunction, guns and bullets, the capitalist class is driving the fact home to the workers that it is suicidal to vote for its political candidates."

G. Rosenblath: "It is high time that we workingmen realize the folly of expecting from the capitalist political machines any better treatment than we receive from the capitalists in the shop.

Edwd. Knight: "The capitalist class enacts and enforces laws to enable it to rob the working class and to prevent the working class from resisting this robbery. Leave them in power, put them in power, and we have nothing to complain about. Ours is the blame."

Ch. Bock: "Parades and demonstrations alone do no good. These must be followed up by the class-conscious ballot of the proletariat."

George Sieburg: "Where are the labor fakirs at this season? What are they doing? They are simply shivering because, by the murder of the Hazleton miners, some more of their rapidly drying up sources to collect dues from have been dried up. 'Dead workingmen don't pay dues.'"

Emil Kirchner: "The Hazleton affair is but another outrage added to that long list of atrocious and cowardly crimes committed against the suffering working class; it can be avenged only by the Socialist ballot which pronounces this capitalist system infamous and guilty."

Chas. Vanderporten: "The privately owned machine, produced by labor, throws out the working men; and then the guns, also produced by them, shoot them down. We want to gain possession of both. And we shall by voting ourselves into power."

A. Jablinowski (German): "This monstre demonstration of the class-conscious workingmen and women of New York will resound throughout the land, and quicken the pulse of the working class to organize itself intelligently to overthrow the capitalist system."

Hermann Schlueter (German): "What are the workingmen to do in the face of such scoundrelism as has been perpetrated against them by the bosses, the officials of Pennsylvania and the whole capitalist press? They must realize that there is nothing for them to do but to stand together, and fight with might and main to overthrow the capitalist system."

Alexander Jonas (German): "He who, after all these experiences, advises the workingmen anything short of the conquest of the political powers, is either a hopeless blockhead or a traitor."

Peter Fiebiger (German): "At this critical moment, has the working class its own press from which to gather trustworthy information? No. It must rely upon the Republican, Democratic and other capitalist papers that deal in false information, and lead it back to the political shambles of its exploiters."

Chr. Pattberg (German): "Remember on election day that, from the President down, all capitalist politicians have but one aim—the oppression of the working class."

B. Feigenbaum (Jewish): "We imagined we escaped the despotism of Russia, and we find that capitalism here also has only but bullets for the working class."

William Edlin (Jewish) "My heart throbs with joy at this demonstration. It brings out clearly the fact that the principles implanted by our uncompromising party in the minds of the workers has borne fruit." The three cheers which he called for in closing, for the S. L. P. were heartily given by the large crowd of Jewish class-conscious workingmen around that stand.

G. Moren (Polish): "The shots that killed our Hazleton brothers establish the solidarity of the capitalist class, and the blood of our brothers shed at Hazleton establishes the solidarity of the working class of all races and nationalities. Their blood mingles with that of our American fellow wage slaves shed in Tennessee, of our Irish, German, Italian, Jewish, American and all others shed on so many capitalist fields of slaughter in this and other countries."

At the conclusion of the last speaker at each of the several stands the following resolutions were read and adopted with emphatic approbation

WHEREAS, On the 10th instant, Sheriff Martin, of Luzerne County, with his deputies, consisting of relatives and hangers-on of the mine owners, fired upon a body of miners marching peacefully upon the highway;

WHEREAS, In consequence of the shooting, 24 of these inoffensive workingmen were murdered, and more than 50 wounded;

WHEREAS, Instead of causing the prompt arrest of the murderers, their aiders and abettors, the political power of the State of Pennsylvania sent to the place of slaughter a regiment to protect the rioters and prevent even a warrant of arrest from being served upon them;

WHEREAS, The capitalist press of the land—Gold Republican, Silver Republican, Gold Democrat, Silver Democrat, Protectionist, Free Trade, Tom Platt, Tammany Hall and Citizens' Union alike—have hailed the act of the murderers as an act deserving of praise; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the working class of this Greater New York, in mass meeting assembled at Union Square on this 18th day of September, brand the deed at Hazleton as an act of foul and premeditated murder;

RESOLVED, That the perpetrators of this deed are the whole capitalist class of the country, together with their hired men, the Labor Fakir class, with whose assistance the capitalist class stands to-day behind the guns, in full possession of the public powers, while the working class stands in front of the guns, bereft of all power;

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of our fellow wage slaves throughout the country to the fact that the Hazleton massacre underscores, to wit, that there is a class struggle going on in society to-day between the idle, parasite class of capitalists, together with their hirelings, on the one hand, and the working class or wage slaves on the other, and that this struggle can not be patched up, but will proceed, marked by ever greater atrocities, unless the working class oust its oppressors from public power, legislate for itself, abolish the capitalist system and establish the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth;

RESOLVED, That we call upon the working class to join the Socialist Labor party organization, and on election day march with it to the polls and crush under the sledge hammer blows of the S. L. P. ballot the capitalist system of murder and rapine that to-day disgraces and endangers civilization.

The following despatches were also read from the platforms as they came in:

"Scranton, a., Sept. 18.—To the Mass Meeting at Union Square: Greetings to the New York Comrades. Let us silence the capitalist bullets with the Socialist ballot."

Miners' Local Alliance, S. T. & L. A., of Lucerne Co.

"Paterson, N. J., Sept. 18.—To the Mass Meeting at Union Square: Section Paterson, now assembled in convention to nominate a county ticket, sends greeting. Shall join our voice to yours at a mass meeting here next Friday."

It was after 11 o'clock before the meeting broke up.

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN, Sept. 18.—Aloysius Hall was packed full last evening by an indignation mass meeting of workingmen called by the Socialist Labor party against the Hazleton butcheries. Comrade E. T. Oatley called the meeting to order. Comrade Geo. Mansfield, of Westfield, presided, Comrades Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, and Daniel De Leon, of New York, were the speakers. In his opening address Comrade Mansfield said:

"We are here for the purpose of expressing our feelings and opinions upon the murderous assault of a sheriff and his deputies upon our fellow wage slaves, and the offering of 65 miners killed or wounded as the latest tribute to the minotaur of capitalism. Such things are the result of a private ownership of those natural monopolies of the land and the capital of the nation, its natural and its social opportunities. The miner's wages, if work for the full time were guaranteed him, would give but meagre support; but he can have work only about one-half the time, and must furnish many of his tools and buy his goods at the company's stores. His condition is worse than any chattel slave, for the latter at least is properly housed, fed, clothed, and decently buried when he dies. This is more than can be said of the miner. And if he strikes to better his condition, he immediately becomes an outlaw, having no rights which bosses, mine owners or corrupt judges and politicians are bound to respect. The federal judges are in a conspiracy with the trusts, corporations, the railroad combines and all capitalists, corporate and incorporate, to debauch and dispirit the people. Laws passed seeking reforms are either dead letters or pronounced unconstitutional by the courts. The law compelling the railroads to use safety coupling appliances in the interests of humanity remains unenforced, and the statute of New York for the abolishment of sweatshops was declared unconstitutional.

"'Well, what are you going to do about it?' do I hear. Nothing can be done except to overthrow the capitalist system completely. No government was ever more strongly intrenched than our federal judiciary. None was ever more corrupt or more lacking in sympathy with the people. The capitalists do not fear reforms; they would guzzle you with reforms, but these would not put a dollar in your pocket nor a loaf of bread in your cupboard. The need of the working class is to feel its solidarity and power, and with the consciousness of that power the knowledge how to use it by overturning capitalism and voting into power the Socialist Commonwealth. Reforms won't do it. We need the revolution, and the S. L. P. is the lever to accomplish that."

Comrade Martha Moore Avery, who was arrested in Boston for speaking in public, and, by insisting upon a trial, is fighting the cause of free speech in Massachusetts, spoke impressively. She said in part, with a flow of oratory that enraptured her listeners:

"The forces that build nations are stirred. The horrors we have witnessed at Hazleton are but the birth-pangs of a new nation. The evolution of government means simply democracy more and more fully established entering the industrial as well as civil affairs. We are here to-night with the right of free speech secured to us under a separation of the military, the legislative and the judicial functions. The change was brought about after how long a time and with how great struggles from the condition in which one personality embraced them all. With our rights we assume the duties of maintaining them in their integrity. We must realize that in the assault upon these citizens our rights are assailed. The details of the affair are too horrible to dwell upon, and, worst of all, it must be said that the bullets of the deputies went, not at the hearts of the poor men, but at their backs. Their sufferings are our sufferings; their blows, our blows; their widows and orphans, ours in common interest. We are responsible for them. You men especially are responsible that it occurred.

"These men marched in the hope that the demonstration would aid them in securing not 'a living wage,' but a mere pittance. 'We might as well starve in the sunlight as under ground,' said one of them to me. These men, some of them unable to understand the orders given them, were set upon and shot by deputy sheriffs; and is it called 'murder?' There is little of that; the act is even glorified by the capitalist press.

"This occasion shows that there is no hope for America if the working class support the capitalist class. The matter is not one of reform. We approach the problem from nothing else than a revolutionary standpoint. We demand the control of production by the people, a genuine government of the people. The machine is a social tool, not an individual one. The shoemaker of to-day is only a hundredth part of a shoemaker. The advantage is a real one, but we want to gain not only the social but the individual advantages. Who can estimate the social power of labor over the individual power of 100 years ago?

"'There is room at the top,' it is said, and it is constantly growing roomier, because the base is getting broader, the wage earner being sunk deeper as mudsills to build the apex on. Let labor simply withdraw from beneath and capital topples over. This talk about a coming war shows the Anarchistic frame of mind of the people. There is war—has been for ten years; every great strike is an evidence of it, and the fact that the strikes have been lost shows that the people have not yet become engaged in their own behalf. The settlement of the question is one of class-consciousness, of intelligence and integrity. You can talk about fraternalism until the crack of doom, but until the system is changed there can be no real reform. The consciousness of a struggle must manifest itself at the ballot box; then, if war is necessary, there will be a clear question and no dilly-dallying, with emancipation assured."

Comrade Daniel De Leon spoke in substance as follows:

"If the workingmen, assassinated in Hazleton, shall not have died in vain, the working class of America must draw from that tragedy all the lessons that it eloquently teaches. Parents there are who chastise their children with undue severity; they are punished for cruelty, but the institution of parental authority is never questioned. Its excesses are curbed; the institution itself is upheld. Was the treatment meted out to the miners at Hazleton one of that nature? Was that treatment an excess of authority by an institution that deservedly must be upheld, and are these and all other such wrongs that it inflicts, wrongs that are not inherent to it, but exceptional?

"The social system under which we live is the Capitalist System. As a matter of fact it divides society into two classes; the capitalist and the working class. How deep-reaching the distinction is between the two appears from terms that are current if you but heed them. You never hear talk about the 'banker market,' the 'railroad magnate market,' the 'manufacturer market'; but you hear talk of the 'wheat market,' the 'leather market,' of the 'pork market' and of the 'LABOR MARKET.' The capitalist system looks upon the capitalist as a human being, but upon the workingman as an article of merchandise. Given the capitalist root, such is its blossom. The price of merchandise in the world's markets depends upon the supply and the demand. We have seen wheat rise to $1 a bushel the supply being beyond the demand, and it will fall as the supply rises. So with all other goods, labor included. But the supply of labor steadily increases and the demand for it decreases. The main cause of this is the private ownership of the machine. The machine displaces labor. Thus the price of labor, wages, do and must go down. The attitude of workingmen who, at the same time that they uphold the capitalist system, which makes a merchandise out of them, refuse to submit to the law of merchandise is illogical. Such men are butting their heads against a steel wall. People hear of suicides, crime, accidents to the workers, etc., and consider all these but "accidents." A Hazleton affair bundles up all these "accidents" and presents the problem forcibly. It is this: Murder, rapine, the suffering of the working class are inherent features of the capitalist system. They will continue to recur until the working class pull itself out of the company of pork, potatoes, wheat, spittoons and all other merchandise and clothe themselves with the dignity of man. The Hazleton butcheries prove that the fault lies with the capitalist system. That system must be overthrown, and, with it, its capitalist and labor fakir pillars. The message of the Socialist Labor party to the working class is: Join our organizations and join us at the polls, where we, the working class, are infinitely more numerous, and let us wrench from the infamous class, that alone thrives on capitalism, the public powers which it needs to uphold itself and which we need to throw it down!"

At the close of this address, the following resolutions were offered by Comrade Oatley and carried:

WHEREAS, Under the guise of law and order, a bloody tragedy was enacted at Hazleton, Pa., September 10, wherein peaceable and unarmed miners, who were on strike and in a starving condition, were fired upon, on the public highway, by a bloodthirsty gang of ruffians, so-called deputy sheriffs, in which 23 of their number were killed outright and over 50 seriously wounded; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, as wage-workers of the city of New Haven in mass meeting assembled, do protest against and denounce as an outrage, and an act of high-handed tyranny, and a menace to all liberty-loving people, and a disgrace to a civilized community, the killing of 23 and wounding of 50 peaceably inclined men, by the sheriff and his deputies, while on the public highway from Hazleton, Pa., to the Latimer, Pa., mines, to induce their fellow workmen to join them in their struggle to maintain a living wage; therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That we recognize the fact that the strike alone as a weapon to better our condition is inadequate, and it is necessary that we take advantage of the power of the ballot box to right our wrongs. The sheriff was, as are all the other officers, elected for the sole purpose of upholding the present capitalist system, and not for the betterment of the wage worker; consequently it is the duty of the wage worker to join a class-conscious party, which has for its object the abolishing of the present capitalist competitive system, and substituting therefor the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. By casting your vote for the Socialist Labor party you the sooner usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 19.—An open air meeting, several thousand large, was held this afternoon in protest of the Hazleton affair. Speeches were made in English, German and Polish, and resolutions were adopted branding the Hazleton murders as a link in the long chain of capitalist crimes, and appealing to the "Arm and Hammer" of the Socialist Labor party for salvation.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Sept. 19.—A mass meeting of the people to protest against the massacre of unarmed workingmen in Hazleton took place Saturday evening, Sept. 18, on the South Side of Pittsburg. Comrade Val. Remmel opened the meeting with a short but sharp description of the bloody affair, and pointed out the only remedy and the only weapon left in the hands of the workingmen: to unite and strike at the ballot box for the principles of the Socialist Labor party. The next speaker was Comrade Frank Guessner. In a vivid manner he gave the history of the miners' strike, compared it with the strikes at Homestead, Buffalo, Coeur d' Alène, Chicago and Brooklyn. In all these strikes the blood of the workingmen was shed to preserve the property of the capitalists, and eventually break up the strike. It did not matter which party was in power—Cleveland, the Democrat, or William McKinley, the private secretary of Mark Hanna, and angel of prosperity. It did not matter to which party the Governor belonged. All alive promptly responded to the call of their only master—the capitalist.

At the end of his speech Comrade Guessner presented the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, Striking coal miners, proved to have been unarmed, and engaged in a peaceable mission, marching from Hazleton to Latimer, in the county of Luzerne, State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of inducing by argument, reason and persuasion, their brothers at work to join a strike for human-worthy conditions and a living wage, were mercilessly shot down in cold blood to the number of 22, by a sheriff's posse, and the paid hirelings of the mine owners and their political retainers; and

WHEREAS, Many of the victims of said massacre have been found with bullet wounds in their backs, showing that volley after volley was poured into unarmed, fleeing workingmen and their defenseless children; and

WHEREAS, The armed militia of the State of Pennsylvania, called out at the behest of the mine owners to repress the indignation of an aroused people, by Daniel H. Hartings, their representative, who was elected by 574,000 votes, mostly those of the working class, and that General Gobin, another representative of the capitalist class, and the autocratic director of the military arm of the State for the shielding of the possessing class against the dispossessed majority, has been, without even the pretence of law, set at defiance the civil powers of the State, and given shelter to Sheriff Martin and his hireling horde of deputies, who have been indicted for mass-murder unprovoked, unjustifiable, brutal and unparalleled in the history of civilized communities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the citizens of the South Side, Pittsburg, in mass meeting assembled, that we unqualifiedly protest against a system of government which, under a Democratic Pattison, hurled the armed soldiery of the State in Homestead; under Cleveland, into Chicago; and under Hastings, into the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, for the sole purpose of overawing the working class, repressing freedom of speech, nullifying the right of peaceable assemblage, and even going so far as to prevent the victims of the competitive system from decently burying the martyrs who fell in the class struggle; and

RESOLVED, That we solemnly protest against "government by injunction" as well as repression of the just demands of labor by the indiscriminate use of gunpowder, bullets and bayonets under the administration of the Democratic and Republican parties, and

RESOLVED, That realizing the ever sharper drawing of the lines which distinguish the capitalist from the working class, and convinced that the battleground of labor must unite resistance on the economic as well as the political field, therefore be it finally

RESOLVED, It is, after the events of the past week, clearly the duty of every workingman to sever his allegiance with the parties representing the interests of capitalism, and join, work with, and work for the final triumph of the Socialist Labor party, the installation in power of which alone promises us the abolition of wage slavery, and the institution of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

With a mighty "Aye," as if shot out from the lungs of one man, the resolutions were adopted. Comrade Thomas Gundy was the last speaker. The average estimate of the gathering was over 1,000 men and women.

The fact that for the first time here in this city such a large crowd listened to the representatives of the S. L. P. and indorsed our principles is most significant. On Sunday afternoon the same resolutions were adopted at the regular agitation meeting of the American Section, S. L. P., at the Labor Lyceum, corner 18th and Mary streets. The attendance was unusually large. The situation in Pittsburg and vicinity has in the last year greatly changed in favor of our principles. Everything points to a surprise for the Socialists in the country from Pennsylvania. We have for the first time a full ticket in the field. In our part of the State—Western Pennsylvania—we gathered on the nomination papers 2,601 names for the State ticket, 1,612 names for the judiciary, and 1,810 for the County of Allegheny. Last year we, after great labor, got 700 names in all.

YONKERS, N. Y., Sept. 18.—At a mass meeting of the working class of Westchester County, these resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, We, American citizens and members of the Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled, have heard with indescribable horror of the awful and cowardly murder of our fellow wage slaves in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, but knowing from bitter experience of the past that such a state of things will necessarily be while the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution exist; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That while we condemn in the strongest terms the awful murder of these unfortunate wage slaves, we deem it of far greater importance to do all in our power as class-conscious wage workers to abolish for ever the present system of capitalism, which forces some of our class (the working class) to become the hired assassins of the capitalistic class, and who, for a few dollars, hold human life so cheap that at the word of command of some representative of the coal barons or railroad kings, they shoot down in cold blood their own brothers in the ranks of labor. We recognize even though we are in a state of economic servitude we still remain in possession of a most potent weapon, that is even more powerful than the Gatling gun and Winchesters of the enemy, viz., an intelligent use of the ballot; we therefore do most solemnly

RESOLVE, That we will for the future use that ballot as class-conscious wage slaves should use it, and return to power the only party which demands the return to the people of the wealth which they have created and the land

(Continued on Page 3.)

IRELAND'S

Address to the Working Class Irish of America.

UP, IRISH PROLETARIAT!

The Vote for the Socialist Labor Party in America is a Vote for the Irish Socialist Republican Party in Ireland and is the Strongest Blow at the Hereditary Foes of the Irish Race, the British Aristocracy of Land and Capital—America is the International Battle Ground Where Capital, Captained by British Capitalism, Must be Knocked Down.

TO THE WORKING-CLASS IRISH OF AMERICA, GREETING:

The publication in the United States, under the imprint and by the authority of an American political party, of a pamphlet originally published in Ireland, and dealing with the social and political conditions of the latter country marks, we venture to hope, the beginning of a new era in our international politics.

The history of the great American republic, from the date on which the first general Congress of the United States addressed from Philadelphia their message to the people of Ireland asking the sympathy of that people, until the present day, has been a subject of the most intense interest and pride to Irishmen in general. This pride has, to a large extent, arisen from the fact that multitudes of Irishmen have contributed by their valor and genius to build up, and, when built, to safeguard the liberties of the Republic. Whereas, our countrymen, in the service of the continental powers of Europe, sank to the position of hired mercenaries of foreign despots, as often suppressing liberty as fighting for it, in the United States our exiles of the working class have, on the whole, been or meant to be, the champions of freedom.

It is but fitting, therefore, that when the people of America are just beginning to realise that a more deadly foe to their liberties than any encountered by their fathers has established itself in their midst, and when the shadow of the impending and inevitable conflict between that foe and the champions of human freedom already gathers upon the horizon, the Irish working class at home should desire to gain the ear of their compatriots in America in order to point out the absolute identity of the ideal sought after by the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY of America, with that hope which, vague and undefined, fired the imagination of Irish poets and martyrs in the past, and which, at last clearly and definitely realized and expressed, finds its place in the object and programme of the IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY today. This identity, once realized, the Irish working class in America, will, it is to be hoped, awake to the fact that no stronger blow could be struck for the liberties of "the old land" than will be given on the day when a majority of the electorate of the United States vote for the installation of a Socialist administration pledged to uproot that last and meanest form of human slavery—the wage system of capitalism. The international effect of such action will be best understood by Irishmen when it is remembered that, according to the report of a Judiciary Committee to the fifty-first Congress of the United States, no less than 21,000,000 acres of the soil of that country are at present in possession of titled aliens—members principally of the British and Irish aristocracy; and of the United States railroad and land bonds over 100,000,000 acres are likewise owned by the vulture investing classes of the same British Empire.

How deeply those hereditary enemies of the Irish people, the English governing classes, are interested in the maintenance of the capitalist system in America is further daily illustrated by the "sympathetic" response of the London Stock Exchange to every rise and fall on Wall street, by the unconcealed delight of the English capitalist press at every reverse of the working class movement in America, by their shrieks of joy upon the triumphs of undisguised reaction in American politics (as in the case of McKinley) and by their persistent and unsuccessful attempts to inoculate the upper class circles of American society with a desire to reproduce on American soil the political and social conditions peculiar to monarchial countries such as Great Britain.

The only measure which can effectually checkmate this conspiracy against the liberties of America, and at the same time lay broad and deep the foundations of Irish freedom, is SOCIALISM. The Socialist Labor party carries its banner in America as the Irish Socialist Republican party does in Ireland. Given the triumph of the one and the other is within sight of its goal.

Working-class Irish of America, rally to the support of the only American political party, which, recognizing that the interests of the oppressed are the same the world over, aids the revolutionary working class party of Ireland to spread a knowledge of its doctrines among the scattered children of the Clan-na-Gael.

Propaganda Committee, Irish Socialist Republican Party, 67 Mid. Abbey street, Dublin.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	**36,564**

It is better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want—and get it in the neck.

Westchester County, N. Y., Indignation Mass Meeting, Sep. 18, 1891.

HAETZLON—NEW YORK.

Let not external appearances conceal behind different external forms the identity of purpose that underlies the conduct of the capitalists in the Hazleton Sheriff's posse revelation, and in the New York Seth Low movement for "good government."

Sheriff's posses, intended to browbeat the workers, have proverbially been recruited from the lowest of the lowest ranks of society; noted ruffians and toughians, dissolute, reckless characters were uniformally picked out for service; the more tainted the man the better chance he had for the job. But they cost money. These "unwashed" men, with the instinct of all menials, knew that they were chosen to do a dirty work, needed by their "washed" paymasters, a work that these would not like to do themselves, for the sake of appearances. They, accordingly, demanded big pay, and frequently became insolent, thereby inflicting upon their paymasters additional expenses. Like all mercenaries, they were ugly birds to deal with; they were a double-edged tool: one edge turned in the direction wanted, the other a source of perpetual danger to their own capitalist employers. The old style Sheriff's posse were expensive affairs. The composition of the Hazleton Sheriff's posse reveals the fact that the capitalist of that region realized the difficulty, that they determined to remove it, and how they put their determination through:—the Hazleton Sheriff's posse was made up, not as formerly, from the toughian class, but from their own, the capitalist class. The Hazleton capitalists, rather than stand the expense of hiring assassins, and the trouble thereof, now did the work themselves—they saved just so much money.

Turning to New York, what does the Seth Low Citizens' Union mean? New York capitalists, as capitalists everywhere else, need the legislative, executive and other public powers. Through those channels they secure the legislation they need for themselves, and, furthermore, prevent being brought to account for the crimes and wholesale violations of law that they are continually committing in the interest of their class. Hitherto they left this dirty work, the work of politics—the seeing to it that laws, suitable to themselves be passed, and that their crimes be pigeonholed—to the professional politicians. Thus the Tom Platt Republican machine and the Tammany Hall Democratic machine answered, in politics, to the work of the roughs in the Sheriff's posses. The parallel is exact. Just as the roughs, knew their value to their real employers and made these pay for them, the Tom Platt Republican and the Tammany Hall Democratic politicians, found out THEIR value to the criminal capitalist class and made this class pay through the nose for the services they rendered to them. If the capitalist needed legislation, it had to be bought from the machines; and, worse yet, the machines would initiate the extortion of money from the capitalists by introducing unfavorable legislation, that had to be bought off, or threatening prosecutions that had to be hushed up with good round sums. We know of no New York capitalist who, but for these machines, would not be in the penitentiary. Now, then, a goodly number of these "washed" worthies" have got tired of being bled in this way—just as their Hazleton pals got tired of being bled by posses. They want to secure all the rascal legislation they need, and to continue their career of crime without having to pay blood money to the crew of political mercenaries of the Platt and Tammany Hall machines. This is all there is at the bottom of their "good government" cry. And they have banded themselves into a party to enforce their programme.

Thus the New York class-conscious political organization of capitalists—the Seth Low Citizens' Union—, and the Hazleton Sheriff's posse throw valuable light upon each other. The two mark a development in capitalist methods: the overthrow of the bribe-taking mercenary and the advent to power of the former bribe-giving capitalist, who henceforth would save the funds formerly expended upon his hired men, and do his dirty work himself.

The class-conscious proletariat takes note, and with emphasis declares:

"Down with both the bribe-taking heelers of Capital and the bribe-giving Capitalist himself. Smash them both with the 'Arm and Hammer' of the S. L. P. ballot."

EAST AND WEST.

While, and at the same time that, here in the East, the officials elected by the capitalist parties reveal what slight value they place upon the lives of the WORKINGMAN PARENTS of children, by murdering them at Hazleton and preventing the arrest of the criminals, in the West, they reveal what slight value they place upon lives of the CHILDREN of workingmen and women.

A boy, Loren Fox, was killed by the neglect of the Oakland, Cal., Consolidated Railroad Company. The father sued the company, and the jury awarded him $6,000 damages. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and the Court reversed the decision, on the ground that the child was not worth so much!

Here is the language of the Court literally:

"He (the child) was a mere infant, and for many years at best under ordinary conditions—and it is by such we must judge—he would have remained, however dear to their hearts, a subject of expense and outlay to his parents, without the ability to render pecuniary return. And common experience teaches further that, even after reaching an age of some usefulness, he yet would continue for the better part of his remaining years of minority more a source of outgo than of income."

The bones, the flesh, the marrow, the blood of the working class is that on which the capitalist class feeds and feasts. Men, women and children are squeezed dry in the shops; slaughtered, intentionally and accidentally, with impunity; and the political machinery in the hands of the capitalist parties is there only to shield that bloodthirsty class!

The Socialist Labor party of New Jersey has issued a stiff address to the voters of the State upon how they should treat the proposed constitutional amendments, to be voted on next November. The address closes with this pointed advice:

"Again, therefore, we say to you, Comrades—Rebuke the capitalistic schemers. Put them down to the true issue. When voting upon this amendment, as upon the two others, instead of writing YES or NO, write the following words in your boldest hand:—DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM."

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The New York "Evening Post," organ of the Seth Low capitalist combine known as the Citizens' Union, is of opinion that the Platt heelers are not a whit better than the Tammany heelers—and that both are execrable. But that did not prevent the "Evening Post" from mingling its voice with that of this "execrable" crew in praise of the assassins of Hazleton.

One touch of capital makes the whole brigand world kin.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Socialist" correctly observes:

"Debs' paper, 'The Social Democrat,' for August 12, says:

"'The Social Democracy is a political organization which recognizes the class struggle and is based on the principles of International Socialism. We make this statement for the benefit of many correspondents who do not seem to have a clear conception of the aims and objects of the Social Democracy.'

"If these are the honest aims and objects of the Social Democracy, it will join the Socialist Labor party. If it has other fish to fry it will switch off in some other direction (perhaps to Ruskin.)"

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" has grabbed Sam Gompers by the neck, and is giving him some mighty kicks. The latest is part of a controversy about an article in the "Federationist," edited by the ignoramus Gompers. Says the "Citizen":

"The American Federationist attempts to harmonize its declaration that, though the labor movement primarily seeks the betterment of the wage earning class, 'it may and will benefit all others,' although it is class-conscious, by artfully attempting to show that the millionaire class is not now happy; that the labor movement means justice to all, which means 'the betterment of the conditions of all, making every one freer, more humane and nobler.' If it is meant that justice will be done the millionaires by striking against them, by boycotting them and by confiscating more and more of their profits, then we admit that Editor Gompers is skilful as a tactician and a great politician.

"Says the Federationist:

"'It is undisputed by all real thinkers that the riotous luxury now indulged in by wealth possessors is unreal and artificial and brings little of the genuine pleasures and comforts of life; that they live in a world all to themselves, and have no conceptions of the human instincts and common attributes of the natural man; that with rational labor for man, and that labor well rewarded or perhaps the full results of his labor accruing to him; with poverty or the fear of poverty eliminated from the consideration of life; that with prosperous happy, progressive and intelligent people, all would be absolutely free, and that this would be a betterment of the condition of all.'

"'We commend these thoughts,' concludes the 'Federationist,' 'to the respectful consideration of our esteemed contemporary on the lake.' The 'Citizen' is said to deal 'simply in phrases of which it has but a very faint conception.' It is the 'Federationist that resorts to hackneyed phrases and word-juggling. If it does not, why are its constituents not shown how justice can be done to two fundamentally hostile classes in society, one of which must of necessity be wrong and the other right? What is meant by 'labor well rewarded or perhaps the full results of his labor accruing to him?' Is this change to occur through the ballot, boycott or bullet? Speak up!"

Samuel of Posen won't answer, he is too much preoccupied now by the scurvy trick played upon him by his pals, the Sheriff of Luzerne County, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the other politicians, who are demonstrating that Gompers is a misleader of labor and a fakir, and that the Socialists are right.

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" hits the nail squarely on the head in this passage:

"Men to-day submit to economic slavery and allow themselves to be fleeced by capitalist tyrants because the present system of society makes impossible their escape. Living in a land of plenty, and surrounded by the bounties of nature and the product of man's industrious toil, the many are the helpless victims of the few, because a system of society exists that declares the taking of profit, interest and rent to be just and proper. The present capitalist system, however, is built on the quivering backs of the oppressed, and can remain in existance only just so long as the workers bend meekly and submissively to the load. Once the propertiless, exploited class become conscious of their right and their might, the capitalist system will be smashed to smithereens, and industrial tyrants, as well as capitalist exploiters, will disappear like leeches from a bloodless corpse."

To the misguided ones, who run down the "gold standard" as though the "silver standard" were a whit better, and to the unfortunate ones who are wheedled to the meetings of the hired orators of the silver mine barons, we commend the following observations that have all the more significance, seeing they come from a source, that, at one time grew enthusiastic for silver—the Girard, Kans., "Appeal to Reason":

"Eleven miners were killed in a coal mine at Glenwood Springs, Colorado, the other day. The mine owner lost not a cent. Had they been chattel slaves he would have lost $6,000, and precautions would have been used that would have prevented the accident. Men are cheaper than safety appliances, and will be so long as business is conducted for private profit. Only eleven dead wage slaves—plenty of live ones only too glad to get their jobs. Had it been eleven rich men there would have been column upon column written about it, and the echoes of the awful occurrence would have been sent around the world. Poor people have the votes and the muscle to change a system that makes them of less public account than a horse, but they listen to the voice of the hired press, pulpit and politicians of the rich, and are kept in ignorance, while the useless, venal, traitorous class live off their labor. It is sad, but true."

The Albany, N. Y., "Official Record," furnishes, we hope intentionally, a tip to help answer the question, How comes it that the capitalist legislators entertain such a deep contempt for the working class?

Giving the biographies of two luminaries in the labor circles of Albany, both of whom have been on "Legislative Committees," the best it can say of them is that, one of them, "made the printers' annual ball a success," and another, "being on the Sports Committee, was a guarantee that it would be of high class."

Such celebrities it is that the Legislators meet on "Legislative Committees," if they do not meet downright crooks.

The "Lucha de Clase" (Class Struggle) a Socialist paper in Bilbao, Spain, has been arbitrarily suppressed by the Governor of the province, it having mercilessly exposed his rascalities.

Commenting upon this, the Madrid, Spain, "Socialist" observes:

"Just such arbitrary acts mark the path along which Socialist thought has progressed. They forcibly call attention to Socialism. And to have attention called to it is to be won by it."

ONWARD, BROTHERS.

Words by HAVELOCK ELLIS. Tune—"Silver Moonlight Winds."

Onward brothers, march still onward,
Side by side and hand in hand;
We are bound for man's true kingdom,
We are an increasing band.
Though the way seems often doubtful,
Hard the toil which we endure;
Though at times our courage falter,
Yet the promised land is sure.

Onward brothers, march still onward,
Side by side and hand in hand;
We are bound for man's true kingdom,
We are an increasing band.

Olden sages saw it dimly,
And their joy to madness wrought;
Living men have gazed upon it,
Standing on the hills of thought.
All the past has done and suffered,
All the daring and the strife,
All has helped to mould the future,
Make man master of his life.

Onward brothers, etc.

Still brave deeds and kind are needed,
Noble thoughts and feelings fair;
Ye, too, must be strong and suffer,
Ye, too, have to do and dare.
Onward, brothers, march still onward;
March still onward hand in hand;
Till ye see at last Man's kingdom,
Till ye reach the Promised Land.

Onward brothers, etc.

"THE C. L. U."

A Free Bowery Show With Prelude and Four Acts.

I notice that THE PEOPLE never prints the reports of the N. Y. Central Labor Union. I shall not discuss the wisdom of that. But I think the report of last Sunday's meeting should be published, even if it crowd out other matter. It will be found to throw quite a strong light upon some of the elements in some quarters of the labor movement. And that must be instructive.

I have written up that session the way it struck me. It was a "free show" in four acts and a prelude, entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Labor Fakir," as follows:

PRELUDE.

Delegate Prince, of the Cigarmakers, reported that his organization wanted an indignation meeting on Hazleton and recommended that the C. L. U. cooperate with the Central Labor Federation (D. A. 1, of the S. T. & L. A.). This brought Delegate Warner to his feet. Readers of THE PEOPLE were made acquainted with him through last week's article on "Worthington's," in which he was very completely knocked out at a public meeting of machinists. He now declared that his organization would co-operate with any organization except the C. L. F., because the machinists, represented there, were scabs, as they had taken places where his union was on strike. The delegate of the bookbinders, knowing that the Empire City Lodge of the S. T. & L. A. referred to by Warner, had passed a motion expressly forbidding its members from going to work where the I. A. M. was on strike, asked Delegate Warner where they had done so. He was caught redhanded, and put his foot into it more by answering, "At Sprague"; therupon the Bookbinders' delegate told him that statement was a deliberate lie.

Mr. Brown, who wears a "Low button" in his coat, and is a delegate of Cigarmakers', No. 144, thought that the time had come to distinguish himself. He moved, with the pride of a peacock, that the Bookbinders' delegate be expelled, having "besmirched the decorum of the C. L. U." The motion was then toned down that the secretary write to the Bookbinders to withdraw their delegate. This was the prelude.

The performance now started, the leading actors being two opposing sets of political crooks, each envious of the other.

ACT I.

The curtain rises. A motion is passed to grant to Set No. 1 Political Labor Crooks the privilege of airing themselves.

Set No. 1 Political Crooks steps forward; conspicuous among them, as stars: Timotheus M. Dalyus, O'Brienus and Farleyus.

Dalyus steps forward, and in the tone of a Bowery tragedian introduces himself and says:

"My name has been mentioned among a number of others handed to Tammany Hall as candidates for officers. A list was handed to Tammany Hall bearing the names, among which was my name, unknown to myself. I at once sent a letter to Johnus C. Sheehanus, as follows:

"I have been informed that my name has been included in the list of prospective candidates for the Legislature that was handed to you by the Workingmen's Political League, purporting to be those of organized labor. This list, I presume, is identical with the one handed by the same committee to the Hon. L. E. Quiggus in August last.—If this list represented the choice of organized labor as men who were fit and competent to represent them in the Legislature, it would be a compliment of which any man might be proud, but to be chosen by a lot of professional labor politicians (claiming to represent men who know nothing of their doings), who, at a very liberal estimate, do not number more than ½ of 1 per cent. of the trades union voters of this city, is a preference that would blight any man's career. My name has been used without my knowledge or consent. If these people called themselves the Mutual Admiration Society, the title would be a more fitting one than the one they prostitute at present. While it is my opinion that organized labor will soon find it necessary to take an active part in politics as the best means of serving an injunction on those who are constantly restricting its rights, you can rest assured that the men they put forward will be made of different timber from those referred to above, and will make it known publicly, and not through a body whose membership is principally on paper."

Dalyus further explained that, while a delegation of labor men went to see Lemuelus Elyus Quiggus, chairman of the Republican County Committee, Jacobus E. Bauschus, the labor candidate for Coroner, was waiting for the result of the interview. He also said that among those on the committee who went to see Mr. Quiggus, was Delegate Johnus O'Connellus, of the cigarmakers. "The number of candidates," he continued, "was cut down to eight. Some of our delegates have evidently been training with the political machine, as was seen at the last election of officers." (Great applause by chorus of Set No. 1 Political Labor Crooks.)

ACT II.

Set No. 2 Political Labor Crooks steps forward, conspicuous among this set, as stars, Eugenus Johnsonus, an "Angel of Purity"; Samus Princius, another "Child of Inocence;" Maherus, a "Man above Approach"; Fridayus, an enthusiastic worker for the "disinterested" Gold Democrat Timus Campbellus, and who now swears by the Chicago Platform, animated by the most unselfish of motives no doubt, together with a dozen others.

Princius, as the "best" representative of political purity, in his capacity as a Tammany Hall Heeler in the 16th Ass. Dist., and incidentally delegate of Cigar Packers' No. 251, steps before the footlights and delivers himself as follows:

"I think, that when a man shoots off gas as delegate Dalyus has done, he is not acting to the credit of the Central Labor Union."

"Yes," interjected Delegate Dalyus bitterly; "I think I have punctured this bubble of delegates who use the Central Labor Union for their own aggrandizement."

Hisses and applause were mingled, and a dozen delegates shouted. The chairman threatened to have several delegates expelled. Princius continuing, said:

"This man talks of professional politicians. How do we know that this letter does not come from another political machine? If his name was on this list, I can tell him he was 'not in it'."

"Who are in it!" shouted several voices.

Princius declined to reply. Then he said: "I have known Mr. Dalyus to be in the political movement. I think if things had gone his way there would have been none of his kicking

"I have been with Delegate Dalyus in political schemes and know that he is not the representative of cleanliness as which he tries to appear before you in the role of purifyer of the Central Labor Union."

An indescribable scene followed. Delegates began accusing each other of being mixed up in political schemes. Some of the delegates were in the Workingmen's Political League, and declared that they were not ashamed of it. Johnus J. Pallasus, the corresponding secretary of the Central Labor Union, who was defeated for re-election by Jacobus E. Bauschus, was mentioned once or twice.

The next on the scene was the pure angel "Geneus" Johnsonus, who attacked Dalyus, saying that he had been a member of the League and had sought to be elected to its principal committees. Then it developed that Dalyus, George H. Warnerus and two or three other delegates had constituted themselves an investigating committee six months ago and that Dalyus had gained admittance to the League to find out its workings and expose them. Johnus then attacked Johnus J. Pallasus, who is Bauschus' rival for the nomination for Coroner. He declared that Pallasus had said to him before the last election:

"'Gene, I am the man who ought to represent labor in Tammany Hall, and I want you to help me to get there."

"I now charge him," said Johnsonus, "with being a traitor to the League, in which he was a supplicant for favors.

"It is true, as it has been said here, that the League was begging for jobs from Boss Platt also, but we did so only when we didn't see forthcoming the result of our labor from Tammany Hall."

The next star who had a chance for airing was the "man above approach, Johnus H. Maherus," of the Liberty Dawn Association of Coach Drivers." He described an alleged talk he had with Johnus J. Pallasus, who asked him to aid him politically. Pallasus had said, he declared:

"Now, Johnus, you're a Mick, and I'm a Mick, and as a pair of Micks we should support each other."

A good number of delegates understood "you are on the make and I am on the make."

Then Delegate Pallasus, who had been burning for an opportunity to speak, shouted: "I'm looking at you, Maherus, you yellow cur; you big yellow cur; you liar; wait till we get outside."

Now the man of conviction, Fridayus, not the Friday of Robinson Cruso's time, delivered himself thusly: "These fellows here on the other side do not believe in the Chicago platform (applause from the gallery), and I assure Delegate Dalyus that he is not on the list for 'jobs' because he, O'Brienus, Pallasus and others tried to get up a protest against the Chicago platform, while WE are the ones who believe in the Chicago platform."

(Great applause by the chorus of Set No. 2, Political Labor Crooks.)

ACT III.

A new set of actors steps forth: the "Fakirs under Cover."

Brownus, the man with the "Low button," and "protector of the decorum of the C. L. U.," steps forward and speaks this piece:

"It is a shame that the delegates are airing themselves. It will only prove to the d——d Socialists that they are right. I therefore move to lay the whole matter on the table."

The delegates who did the airing and those who enjoyed the same wished jointly with those who wanted to hear the whole truth, to hear more, voted the motion down. The motion was later on renewed by Danus Harrisus, but with the same result. The time had arrived when the proprietor of the hall wanted to have the same hall for another variety show, and so the delegates had to move upstairs to conclude the play.

ACT IV.

After many resolutions were introduced on the airing, Delegate Kellyus offered a substitute:

"The C. L. U. repudiates any man or body of men assuming to represent organized labor, and orders that all political organizations be notified of that fact."

Delegate McGillus spoke sarcastically against the substitute, saying:

"It is wrong to put an obstacle in the way of the labor leaders (read Fakirs), who want to get jobs. To get jobs is the object of their lives. Especially wrong is it to write to Tammany Hall, to Platt, and the Citizens' Union; that might injure the labor men in the C. L. U., who are on the make. And as to writing to the Socialist Labor party, that is absurd: that party knows these men, and it has no boodle. Consequently, there is no danger that these men will go there."

The delegate of the Bookbinders, whom the two Sets of Political Labor Crooks want fired out, asked during the proceedings about fifty times for the floor to introduce a substitute for the whole, finally got a chance, but as there was already a substitute, he offered the following suggestion:

"We hereby beg the Democratic party, the Republican party, and the Seth Low Citizens' Union, and all other bodies that might have an opportunity of distributing jobs, to supply all the political labor fakirs in the C. L. U. with jobs, in order to get rid of them, and to purify the labor movement."

Speaking in support of this suggestion the delegate said:

"The two Sets of Political Labor Crooks remind me of the words of Heinrich Heine about the Rabbi and the Monk. Those words are appropriate: 'They both stink.'"

At 9 o'clock the curtain dropped, the "airing" lasted exactly five hours. It was afterwards said by the janitor that the air was full of a peculiar odor, closely resembling sulphur.

DELEGATE TO THE C. L. U.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—You Socialists are a lot of hypocrites. You don't mean what you say.

Uncle Sam—That's coming it strong.

B. J.—And I'll prove it to you.

U. S.—Go ahead.

B. J.—If you had $100,000, would you give it away to the workingmen?

U. S.—If I did you would think I was sincere?

B. J.—Yes; then I would. Would you give it away?

U. S.—No, sir, I would not; and what is more, I would invest it just as any other capitalist.

B. J.—There you have it! Do you call that to be a Socialist?

U. S.—With people like you it is almost useless to explain Socialism. I shall, however, throw my pearl before swine. Socialism is not a charity or benevolent scheme. It is a Social theory, based on the economic fact, that, if a man does not own the tool he needs to work with, he is the slave of that other; that, owing to the private ownership of the machinery of production, the idle live without work, while the industrious toil in increasing misery. From these facts Socialism draws the conclusion that the working-class must take possession of the government and legislate the national instruments of production into their own collective hands. That's Socialism.

Now, if I were to distribute my $100,000 among workingmen, would I bring them or myself nearer to Socialism?

B. J. remains silent.

U. S.—Answer, noodle!

B. J.—What would you do then?

U. S.—I would use that money to educate the workers in economics. That would be the best use it could be put to. Now, don't go about talking as though you knew Socialism, and out of your well trained ignorance draw invectives against us.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Pertinent Questions.

To THE PEOPLE:—In your issue of Sept. 5 there is a letter from a Mr. John Foster asking why the New Democracy should not unite with the Socialists. He says both are in this struggle for humanity. Socialists realize the fact that the private ownership of the land and the machinery of production and distribution inevitably divides society into two classes—master and slave.

When Mr. Debs went down into the coal region why did he not tell the miners it was impossible to do anything to permanently better their condition while the operators were left in possession of the mines?

If he is a Socialist, he knows this. If he knows it and failed to say it, he is not in this struggle "for humanity," but for something else.

Why did he so greatly magnify an insignificant feature—the injunction? If he is a Socialist he knows that the title deeds to the coal lands is a perpetual injunction, barring off all men from the benefits of natural opportunities except on the terms of the holders.

No doubt the old Democracy will work this injunction racket for a thousand times more than it is worth, and will successfully use it as a bait to catch and swallow the New Democracy in the next national campaign, as they did the Pops in the last.

The Socialists have nominated tickets in several States for this fall elections. If the New Democracy will exhibit its honesty of purpose by supporting these tickets, it will go a long way in bringing about a union of forces—if it has any forces.

G. H. ROYAL.

Lampasas, Tex., Sept. 11.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

N. Y., Central Labor Federation.—Last week's report was crowded out by the "Worthington" article.

T. Lake, Ventura, Cal.—We decline with thanks your suggestion upon how "to make greater progress." You are free to consider as "good Socialists" Myron W. Reed, who endorsed for President Governor Tillman, of South Carolina, the disfranchiser of the working class of that State, and H. N. Casson, one of the organizers of the Massachusetts "New Democracy," whose Representatives in the Massachusetts Legislature made common cause with the Republicans; but we are free not to share your views. You are free to think (the freedom of thought includes the freedom to think nonsense) that the scalawags whom we expose are "everybody"; but we are free not to share your thoughts. Finally, you are welcome to your wooden gods; we know too much to let them in and scuttle us. No, thank you.

A. Wilmore, Malden, Mass.—Cleveland's act, of sending Federal troops to Chicago, was a glaring violation of the Federal Constitution and laws. Federal troops can be sent into a State only upon request of the State Legislature, if in session; or, if not in session, upon request of the Governor; or when process of the Federal Courts cannot otherwise be served. The Illinois Legislature was not, at the time, in session; the Governor made no such request, on the contrary protested; and finally it was never claimed that the process of the Federal Courts could not be served: on the contrary, the serving of the "Gatling guns on paper" was a conspicuous feature of that season.

Singers, ho!

Comrades with good voices who wish to join an English Socialist Singing Society are requested to address

A. S. VANDERPORTEN,
1773 1st avenue.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARX.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

III.

On May 29, 1849, the legislative National Assembly convened. On December 2, 1851, it was broken up. This period embraces the term of life of the CONSTITUTIONAL or PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC.

In the first French revolution, upon the reign of the CONSTITUTIONALISTS succeeds that of the GIRONDINS; and upon the reign of the GIRONDINS follows that of the JACOBINS. Each of these parties in succession rests upon its more advanced element. So soon as it has carried the revolution far enough not to be able to keep pace with, much less march ahead of it, it is shoved aside by its more daring allies, who stand behind it, and it is sent to the guillotine. Thus the revolution moves along an upward line.

Just the reverse in 1848. The proletarian party appears as a follower of the small traders' or democratic party; it is betrayed by the latter and allowed to fall on April 16, May 15, and in the June days. In its turn, the democratic party leans upon the shoulders of the bourgeois republicans; barely do the bourgeois republicans believe themselves firmly in power, than they shake off these troublesome comrades for the purpose of themselves leaning upon the shoulders of the party of Order. The party of Order draws in its shoulders, lets the bourgeois republicans tumble down heels over head, and throws itself upon the shoulders of the armed power. Finally, still of the mind that it is sustained by the shoulders of the armed power, it notices one fine morning that these shoulders have turned into bayonets. Each party kicks backward at those that are pushing forward, and leans forward upon those that are crowding backward; no wonder that, in this ludicrous posture, each loses its balance, and, after having cut the unavoidable grimaces, breaks down amid singular somersaults. Accordingly, the revolution moves along a downward line. It finds itself in this retreating motion before the last February-barricade is cleared away, and the first authority produced by the revolution has been constituted.

The period we now have before us embraces the motliest jumble of crying contradictions: constitutionalists, who openly conspire against the Constitution; revolutionists, who admittedly are constitutional; a National Assembly, that wishes to be omnipotent, yet ever remains parliamentary; a Mountain, that finds its occupation in submission, and that parries its present defeats with prophecies of future victories; royalists, who constitute the "patres conscripti" of the republic, and are compelled by the situation to uphold abroad the hostile monarchic houses, whose adherents they are, while in France they support the republic, that they hate; an Executive power that finds its strength in its very weakness, and its dignity in the contempt that it inspires; a republic, that is nothing else than the combined infamy of two monarchies—the Restoration and the July Monarchy—with an imperial label; unions, whose first clause is disunion; struggles, whose first law is indecision; in the name of peace, barren and hollow agitation; in the name of the revolution, solemn sermonizings on peace; passions without truth; thuths without passion; heroes without heroism; history without events; development, whose only moving force seems to be the calendar, and tiresome by the constant iteration of the same suspenses and relaxes; contrasts, that seem to intensify themselves periodically, only in order to wear themselves off and collapse without a solution; pretentious efforts made for show, and bourgeois frights at the danger of the destruction of the world, simultaneous with the carrying on of the pettiest intrigues and the performance of court comedies by the world's saviours, who, in their "laisser aller," recall the Day of Judgment not so much as the days of the Fronde; the official collective genius of France brought to shame by the artful stupidity of a single individual; the collective will of the nation, as oft as it speaks through the general suffrage, seeking its true expression in the prescriptive enemies of the public interests until it finally finds it in the arbitrary will of a filibuster. If ever a slice from history is drawn black upon black, it is this. Men and events appear as reversed Schlemihls,"* as shadows, the bodies of which have been lost. The revolution itself paralyzes its own apostles, and equips only its adversaries with passionate violence. When the "Red Spectre," constantly conjured up and exorcised by the counter-revolutionists; finally does appear, it does not appear with the Anarchist Phrygian cap on its head, but in the uniform of Order, in the RED BREECHES OF THE FRENCH SOLDIER.

We saw that the Ministry, which Bonaparte installed on December 20, 1849, the day of his Ascension, was a Ministry of the party of Order, of the Legitimist and Orleanist coalition. The Barrot-Falloux Ministry had weathered the republican constitutional convention, whose term of life it had shortened with more or less violence, and found itself still at the helm. Changarnier, the General of the allied royalists, continued to unite in his person the command-in-chief of the First Military Division and of the Parisian National Guard. Finally, the general elections had secured the large majority in the National Assembly to the party or Order. Here the Deputies and Peers of Louis Philippe met a holy crowd of Legitimists, for whose benefit numerous ballots of the nation had been converted into admission tickets to the political stage. The Bonapartist representatives were too thinly sowed to be able to build an independent parliamentary party. They appeared only as "mauvaise queue"† played upon the party of Order. Thus the party of Order was in possession of the Government, of the Army, and of the legislative body, in short, of the total power of the State, morally strengthened by the general elections, that caused their sovereignty to appear as the will of the people, and by the simultaneous victory of the counter-revolution on the whole continent of Europe.

Never did a party open its campaign with larger means at its disposal and under more favorable auspices.

The shipwrecked pure republicans found themselves in the legislative National Assembly melted down to a clique of fifty men, with the African Generals Cavaignac, Lamorcière and Bedeau at its head. The great OPPOSITION party was, however, built through the Mountain. This parliamentary baptismal name was given to itself by the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC party. It disposed of more than two hundred votes out of the seven hundred and fifty in the National Assembly, and, hence, was at least just as powerful as any one of the three factions of the party of Order. Its relative minority to the total royalist coalition seemed counterbalanced by special circumstances: Not only did the Departmental election returns show that it had gained a considerable following among the rural population, but, furthermore, it numbered almost all the Paris Deputies in its camp; the Army had, by the election of three under-officers, made a democratic confession of faith; and the leader of the Mountain, Ledru-Rollin, had, differently from all the representatives of the party of Order, been raised to the rank of the "parliamentary nobility" by five Departments, who combined their suffrages upon him. Accordingly, in view of the inevitable collisions of the royalists among themselves, on the one hand, and of the whole party of Order with Bonaparte, on the other, the Mountain seemed, on May 29, 1849, to have before it all the elements of success. A fortnight later, it had lost everything, its honor included.

Before we follow this parliamentary history any further, a few observations are necessary, in order to avoid certain common deceptions concerning the whole character of the epoch that lies before us. According to the democratic view, the issue, during the period of the legislative National Assembly, was simply the struggle between republicans and royalists; the movement itself was summed up by them in the catch-word REACTION—night, in which all cats are grey, and which allows them to drawl out their drowsy commonplaces. Indeed, at first sight, the party of ORDER presents the appearance of a heap of royalist factions, that, not only intrigue against each other, each aiming to raise its own Pretender to the throne, and exclude the Pretender of the opposite party, but also are all united in a common hatred for and common attacks against the "Republic." On its side, the MOUNTAIN appears, in counter-distinction to the royalist conspiracy, as the representative of the "Republic." The party of ORDER seems constantly engaged in a "Reaction," which, neither more nor less than in Prussia, is directed against the press, the right of association and the like, and is enforced by brutal police interventions on the part of the bureaucracy, the police and the public prosecutor—just as in Prussia; the MOUNTAIN, on the contrary, is engaged with equal assiduity in parrying these attacks, and thus in defending the "eternal rights of man"—as every so-called people's party has more or less done for the last hundred and fifty years. At a closer inspection, however, of the situation and of the parties, this superficial appearance, which veils the CLASS STRUGGLE, together with the peculiar physiognomy of this period, vanishes wholly.

Legitimists and Orleanists constituted, as said before, the two large factions of the party of Order. What held these two factions to their respective Pretenders, and inversely kept them apart from each other, what else was it but the lily and the tricolor, the House of Bourbon and the House of Orleans, different shades of royalty? Under the Bourbons, LARGE LANDED PROPERTY ruled together with its parsons and lackeys; under the Orleanist, it was the high finance, large industry, large commerce, i. e., CAPITAL, with its retinue of lawyers, professors and orators. The Legitimate kingdom was but the political expression for the hereditary rule of the landlords, as the July monarchy was but the political expression for the usurped rule of the bourgeois upstarts. What, accordingly, kept these two factions apart was no so-called set of principles, it was their material conditions for life—two different sorts of property—; it was the old antagonism of the City and the Country, the rivalry between Capital and Landed property. That simultaneously old recollections; prejudices and illusions; sympathies and antipathies; convictions, faith and principles bound these factions to one House or the other, who denies it? Upon the several forms of property, upon the social conditions for life, a whole superstructure is reared of various and peculiarly shaped feelings, illusions, habits of thought and conceptions of life. The whole class produces and shapes these out of its material foundation and out of the corresponding social conditions. The individual unit to whom they flow through tradition and education, may fancy that they constitute the true reasons for and premises of his conduct. Although Orleanists and Legitimists, each of these factions, sought to make itself and the other believe that what kept the two apart was the attachment of each to its respective royal House, nevertheless, facts proved later that it rather was their divided interests that forbade the union of the two royal Houses. As, in private life, the distinction is made between what a man thinks of himself and says, and that which he really is and does, so, all the more, must the phrases and notions of parties in historic struggles be distinguished from their real organism, and their real interests, their notions and their reality. Orleanists and Legitimists found themselves in the republic beside each other with equal claims. Each side wishing in opposition to the other, to carry out the restoration of its own royal House, meant nothing else than that each of the two great INTERESTS into which the bourgeoisie is divided—Land and Capital—sought to restore its own supremacy and the subordinacy of the other. We speak of two bourgeois interests because large landed property, despite its feudal coterie and its race pride, has been completely naturalized through the development of modern society. Thus did the Tories of England long fancy that they were enthusiastic for the Kingdom, the Church and the beauties of the old English Constitution, until the day of danger wrung from them the admission that their enthusiasm was only for GROUND-RENT.

The coalized royalists carried on their intrigues against each other in the press, in Ems, in Clarmont—outside of the parliament. Behind the scenes, they don again their old Orleanist and Legitimist liveries, and conduct their old tourneys; on the public stage, however, in their public acts, as a great parliamentary party, they dispose of their respective royal Houses with mere courtsies, adjourn "in infinitum" the restoration of the monarchy. Their real business is transacted as PARTY OF ORDER, i. e., under a SOCIAL, not a POLITICAL title; as representatives of the bourgeois social-system; not as knights of traveling princesses, but as the bourgeois class against the other classes; not as royalists against republicans. Indeed, as party of Order they exercised a more unlimited and harder dominion over the other classes of society than ever before either under the restoration or the July monarchy—a thing possible only under the form of a parliamentary republic, because under this form alone could the two large divisions of the French bourgeoisie be united; in other words, only under this form could they place on the order of business the sovereignty of their class, in lieu of the régime of a privileged faction of the same. If, this notwithstanding, they are seen as the party of Order to insult the republic and express their antipathy for it, it happened not out of royalist traditions only: Instinct taught them that while, indeed, the republic completes their authority, it at the same time undermined their social foundation, in that, without intermediary, without the mask of the crown, without being able to turn aside the national interest by means of its subordinate struggles among its own conflicting elements and with the crown, the republic is compelled to stand up sharp against the subjugated classes, and wrestle with them. It was a sense of weakness that caused them to recoil before the unqualified demands of their own class rule, and to retreat to the less complete, less developed and, for that very reason, less dangerous forms of the same. As often, on the contrary, as the coalized royalists come into conflict with the Pretender who stands before them—with Bonaparte—, as often as they believe their parliamentary omnipotence to be endangered by the Executive, in other words, as often as they must trot out the political title of their authority, they step up as REPUBLICANS, not as ROYALISTS—and this is done from the Orleanist Thiers, who warns the National Assembly that the republic divides them least, down to Legitimist Berryer, who, on December 2, 1851, the scarf of the tricolor around him, harangues the people assembled before the Mayor's building of the Tenth Arrondissement, as a tribune in the name of the Republic; the echo, however, derisively answering back to him: "Henry V.! Henry V.!"*

However, against the coalized bourgeois, a coalition was made between the small traders and the workingmen—the so-called SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC party. The small traders found themselves ill rewarded after the June days of 1848; they saw their material interests endangered, and the democratic guarantees, that were to uphold their interests, made doubtful. Hence, they drew closer to the workingmen. On the other hand, their parliamentary representatives—the MOUNTAIN—, after being shoved aside during the dictatorship of the bourgeois republicans, had, during the last half of the term of the constitutional convention, regained their lost popularity through the struggle with Bonaparte and the royalist ministers. They had made an alliance with the Socialist leaders. During February, 1849, reconciliation banquets were held. A common program was drafted, joint election committees were empaneled, and fusion candidates were set up. The revolutionary point was thereby broken off from the social demands of the proletariat, and a democratic turn given to them; while, from the democratic claims of the small traders' class, the mere political form was rubbed off and the Socialist point was pushed forward. Thus came the SOCIAL DEMOCRACY about. The new MOUNTAIN, the result of this combination, contained, with the exception of some figures from the working class and some Socialist sectarians, the identical elements of the old Mountain, only numerically stronger. In the course of events it had, however, changed, together with the class that it represented. The peculiar character of the Social Democracy is summed up in this: that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as the means, not to remove the two extremes—Capital and Wage-slavery—, but in order to weaken their contrasts and transform them into a harmonious whole. However different the methods may be that are proposed for the accomplishment of this object, however much the object itself may be festooned with more or less revolutionary fancies, the substance remains the same. This substance is the transformation of society upon democratic lines, but a transformation within the boundaries of the small traders' class. No one must run away with the narrow notion that the small traders' class means on principle to enforce a selfish class interest. It believes rather that the special conditions for its own emancipation are the general conditions under which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided. Likewise must we avoid running away with the notion that the Democratic Representatives are all "shopkeepers," or enthuse for these. They may—by education and individual standing—be as distant from them as heaven is from earth. That which makes them representatives of the small traders' class is that they do not intellectually leap the bounds which that class itself does not leap in practical life; that, consequently, they are theoretically driven to the same problems and solutions, to which material interests and social standing practically drive the latter. Such, in fact, is at all times the relation of the "political" and the "literary" representatives of a class to the class they represent.

After the foregoing explanations, it goes without saying that, while the Mountain is constantly wrestling for the republic and the so-called "rights of man," neither the republic nor the "rights of man" is its real goal, as little as an army, whose weapons it is sought to deprive it of and that defends itself, steps on the field of battle simply in order to remain in possession of its implements of warfare.

The party of Order provoked the Mountain immediately upon the convening of the assembly. The bourgeoisie now felt the necessity of disposing of the democratic small traders' class, just as a year before it had understood the necessity of putting an end to the revolutionary proletariat.

But the position of the foe had changed. The strength of the proletarian party was on the streets; that of the small traders' class was in the National Assembly itself. The point was, accordingly, to wheedle them out of the National Assembly into the street, and to have them break their parliamentary power themselves, before time and opportunity could consolidate them. The Mountain jumped with loose reins into the trap.

The bombardment of Rome by the French troops was the bait thrown at the Mountain. It violated Article V. of the Constitution, which forbids the French republic to use its forces against the liberties of other nations; besides, Article IV. forbade all declaration of war by the Executive without the consent of the National Assembly; furthermore, the constitutional assembly had censured the Roman expedition by its resolution of May 8. Upon these grounds, Ledru-Rollin submitted on June 11, 1849, a motion impeaching Bonaparte and his Ministers. Instigated by the wasp-strings of Thiers, he even allowed himself to be carried away to the point of threatening to defend the Constitution by all means, even arms in hand. The Mountain rose as one man, and repeated the challenge. On June 12, the National Assembly rejected the motion to impeach, and the Mountain left the parliament. The events of June 13 are known: the proclamation by a part of the Mountain pronouncing Napoleon and his Ministers "outside the pale of the Constitution"; the street parades of the democratic National Guards, who, unarmed as they were, flew apart at contact with the troops of Changarnier; etc., etc. Part of the Mountain fled abroad, another was assigned to the High Court in Bourges, and a parliamentary regulation placed the rest under the school-master supervision of the President of the National Assembly. Paris was again put under a state of siege; and the democratic portion of the National Guards was disbanded. Thus the influence of the Mountain in parliament was broken, together with the power of the small traders' class in Paris.

Lyons, where the 13th of June had given the signal to a bloody labor uprising, was, together with the five surrounding Departments, likewise pronounced in state of siege, a condition that continues down to this moment.†

The bulk of the Mountain had left its vanguard in the lurch by refusing their signatures to the proclamation; the press had deserted; only two papers dared to publish the pronunciamento; the small traders had betrayed their Representatives; the National guards stayed away, or, where they did turn up, hindered the raising of barricades; the Representatives had duped the small traders: nowhere were the alleged affiliated members from the Army to be seen; finally, instead of gathering strength from them, the democratic party had infected the proletariat with its own weakness, and, as usual with democratic feats, the leaders had the satisfaction of charging their "people" with desertion, and the people had the satisfaction of charging their leaders with fraud.

Seldom was an act announced with greater noise than the campaign contemplated by the Mountain; seldom was an event trumpeted ahead with more certainty and more in advance of the time than the inevitable victory of the democracy. It is evident: the democrats believe in the trombones before whose blasts the walls of Jericho fall together; as often as they stand before the walls of despotism, they seek to imitate the miracle. If the Mountain wished to win in parliament, it should not appeal to arms; if it called to arms in parliament, it should not conduct itself parliamentarily on the street; if the friendly demonstration was meant seriously, it was silly not to foresee that it would meet with a warlike reception; if it was intended for actual war, it was rather original to lay aside the weapons with which war had to be conducted. But the revolutionary threats of the middle class and of their democratic representatives are mere attempts to frighten an adversary; when they have run themselves into a blind alley, when they have sufficiently compromised themselves and are compelled to execute their threats, the thing is done in a hesitating manner that avoids nothing so much as the means to the end, and catches at pretexts to succomb. The bray of the overture, that announced the fray, is lost in a timid growl so soon as this was to start; the actors cease to take themselves seriously, and the performance falls flat like an inflated balloon that is pricked with a needle.

No party exaggerates to itself the means at its disposal more than the democratic, none deceives itself with greater heedlessness on the situation. A part of the army voted for it, thereupon the Mountain is of the opinion that the Army would revolt in its favor. And by what occasion? By an occasion, that, from the stand point of the troops, meant nothing else than that the revolutionary soldiers should take the part of the soldiers of Rome against French soldiers. On the other hand, the memory of June, 1848, was still too fresh not to keep alive a deep aversion on the part of the proletariat towards the National Guard, and a strong feeling of mistrust on the part of the leaders of the secret sosieties for the democratic leaders. In order to balance these differences, great common interests at stake were needed. The violation of an abstract constitutional paragraph could not supply such interests. Had not the constitution been repeatedly violated, according to the assurances of the democrats themselves? Had not the most popular papers branded them as a counter-revolutionary artifice? But the democrat—by reason of his representing the middle class, that is to say, a TRANSITION CLASS, in which the interests of two other classes are mutually dulled—, imagines himself above all class contrast. The democrats grant that opposed to them stands a privileged class, but they, together with the whole remaining mass of the nation, constitute the "PEOPLE." What they represent is the "people's rights"; their interests are the "people's interests." Hence, they do not consider that, at an impending struggle, they need to examine the interests and attitude of the different classes. They need not too seriously weigh their own means. All they have to do is to give the signal in order to have the "people" fall upon the "oppressors" with all its inexhaustible resources. If, thereupon, in the execution, their interests turn out to be uninteresting, and their power to be impotence, it is ascribed either to depraved sophists, who split up the "undivisible people" into several hostile camps; or to the army being too far brutalized and blinded to appreciate the pure aims of the democracy as its own best; or to some detail in the execution that wrecks the whole plan; or, finally, to an unforeseen accident that spoiled the game this time. At all events, the Democrat comes out of the disgraceful defeat as immaculate as he went innocently into it, and with the refreshed conviction that he must win; not that he himself and his party must give up their old standpoint, but that, on the contrary, conditions must come to his aid.

For all this, one must not picture to himself the decimated, broken, and, by the new parliamentary regulation, humbled Mountain altogether too unhappy. If June 13 removed its leaders, it, on the other hand, made room for new celebrities, who are flattered by their new position. If their impotence in parliament could no longer be doubted, they are now justified to limit their activity to outbursts of moral indignation. If the party of Order pretended to see in them, as the last official representative of the revolution, all the horrors of anarchy incarnated, they were free to appear all the more flat and modest in reality. Over June 13 they consoled themselves with the profound expression: "If they but dare to assail universal suffrage . . . then . . . then we will show who we are!" Nous verrons.‡

As to the "Mountaineers," who had fled abroad, it suffices here to say that Ledru-Rollin—he having accomplished the feat of hopelessly ruining, in barely a fortnight, the powerful party at whose head he stood—, found himself called upon to build up a French government "in partibus;" that his figure, at a distance, removed from the field of action, sank in the measure that did the level of the revolution, and seemed to gain in prominence in the measure that the official prominences of official France became more and more dwarfish; that he could figure as republican Pretender for 1852, and periodically issued to the Wallachians and other peoples circulars in which the "despot of the continent," is threatened with the feats that he and his allies have in contemplation. Was Proudhon wholly wrong when he cried out to these gentlemen: "Vous n'êtes que des blaqueurs"?†

The party of Order had, on June 13, not only broken up the Mountain, it had also established the SUBORDINATION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE MAJORITY DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. So, indeed, did the republic understand it, to wit, that the bourgeoisie ruled here in parliamentary form without, as in the monarchy, finding a check in the veto of the Executive power, or the liability of parliament to dissolution. It was a "parliamentary republic" as Thiers styled it. But if on June 13, the bourgeoisie secured its omnipotence within the parliament building, did it not also strike the parliament itself, as against the Executive and the people, with incurable weakness by excluding its most popular part? By giving up numerous Deputies, without further ceremony, to the mercies of the public prosecutor, it abolished its own parliamentary inviolability. The humiliating regulation, that it subjected the Mountain to, raised the President of the republic in the same measure that it lowered the individual Representatives of the people. By branding an insurrection in defence of the Constitution as anarchy, and as a deed looking to the overthrow of society, it interdicted to itself all appeal to insurrection whenever the Executive should violate the Constitution against it. And, indeed, the irony of history wills it that the very General, who, by order of Bonaparte bombarded Rome, and thus gave the immediate occasion to the constitutional riot of June 13, that OUDINOT, on December 2, 1851, is the one imploringly and vainly to be offered to the people by the party of Order as the General of the Constitution. Another hero of June 13, Bleyra, who earned praise from the tribune of the National Assembly for the brutalities that he had committed in the democratic newspaper offices at the head of a gang of National Guards in the hire of the high finance—this identical Bleyra was initiated in the conspiracy of Bonaparte, and contributed materially in cutting off all protection that could come to the National Assembly, in the hour of its agony, from the side of the National Guard.

June 13 had still another meaning. The Mountain had wanted to place Bonaparte under charges. Their defeat was, accordingly, a direct victory of Bonaparte; it was his personal triumph over his democratic enemies. The party of Order fought for the victory, Bonaparte needed only to pocket it. He did so. On June 14, a proclamation was to be read on the walls of Paris wherein the President, as it were, without his connivance, against his will, driven by the mere force of circumstances, steps forward from his cloisterly seclusion like misjudged virtue, complains of the calumnies of his antagonists, and, while seeming to identify his own person with the cause of Order, rather identifies the cause of order with his own person. Besides this, the National Assembly had subsequently approved the expedition against Rome; Bonaparte, however, had taken the initiative in the affair. After he had led the High priest Samuel back into the Vatican, he could hope as King David to occupy the Tuileries. He had won the parson-interests over to himself.

The riot of June 13 limited itself, as we have seen, to a peaceful street procession. There were, consequently, no laurels to be won from it. Nevertheless, in these days, poor in heroes and events, the party of Order converted this bloodless battle into a second Austerlitz. Tribune and press lauded the army as the power of order against the popular multitude, and the impotence of anarchy; and Changarnier as the "bulwark of society"—a mystification that he finally believed in himself. Underhand, however, the corps that seemed doubtful were removed from Paris; the regiments, whose suffrage had turned out most democratic, were banished from France to Algiers; the restless heads among the troops were consigned to penal quarters; finally, the isolation of the press from the barracks, and of the barracks from contact with the citizens was systematically carried out.

We stand here at the critical turning point in the history of the French National Guard. In 1830, it had decided the downfall of the restoration. Under Louis Philippe, every riot failed, at which the National Guard stood on the side of the troops. When, in the February days of 1848, it showed itself passive against the uprising and doubtful towards Louis Philippe himself, he gave himself up for lost. Thus the conviction cast root that a revolution could not win without, nor the Army against the National Guard. This was the superstitious faith of the Army in bourgeois omnipotence. The June days of 1848, when the whole National Guard, jointly with the regular troops, threw down the insurrection, had confirmed the superstition. After the inauguration of Bonaparte's administration, the position of the National Guard sank somewhat through the unconstitutional joining of their command with the command of the First Military Division in the person of Changarnier.

As the command of the National Guard appeared here merely an attribute of the military commander-in-chief, so did the Guard itself appear only as an appendage of the regular troops. Finally, on June 13, the National Guard was broken up, not through its partial dissolution only, that from that date forward was periodically repeated at all points of France, leaving only wrecks of its former self behind. The demonstration of June 13 was, above all, a demonstration of the National Guards. True, they had not carried their arms, but they had carried their uniforms against the Army. The Army then learned that this uniform was a woolen rag, like any other. The spell was broken. In the June days of 1848, bourgeoisie and small traders were united as National Guard with the Army against the proletariat; on June 13, 1849, the bourgeoisie has the small-traders' National Guard broken up; on December 2, 1851, the National Guard of the bourgeoisie itself vanished, and Bonaparte attested the fact when he subsequently signed the decree for its disbandment. Thus the bourgeoisie had itself broken its last weapon against the army, from the moment when the small traders' class, no longer stood as a vassal behind, but as a rebel before it; indeed, it was bound to do so, as it was bound to destroy with its own hands all its means of defence against absolutism, so soon as itself was absolute.

In the meantime, the party of Order celebrated the recovery of a power that seemed lost in 1848 only in order that, freed from its trammels in 1849, it be found again through invectives against the republic and the Constitution; through the malediction of all future, present and past revolutions, that one included which its own leaders had made, and, finally, in laws by which the press was gagged, the right of association destroyed, and the state of siege regulated as an organic institution. The National Assembly then adjourned from the middle of August to the middle of October, after it had appointed a Permanent Committee for the period of its absence. During these vacations, the Legitimists intrigued with Ems; the Orleanists with Claremont; Bonaparte through princely excursions; the Departmental Councilmen in conferences over the revision of the Constitution;—occurrences, all of which recurred regularly at the periodical vacations of the National Assembly, and upon which I shall not enter until they have matured into events. Be it here only observed that the National Assembly was impolitic in vanishing from the stage for long intervals, and leaving in view, at the head of the republic, only one, however sorry, figure—Louis Bonaparte's—; while the party of Order broke up, to the public scandal, into its own royalist component parts, that pursued their conflicting aspirations after the restoration. As often as, during these vacations, the confusing noise of the parliament was hushed, and its body was dissolved in the nation, it was unmistakably shown that only one thing was still wanting to complete the true figure of the republic: to make the vacation of the National Assembly permanent, and to substitute its inscription: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" by the unequivocal words: "Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery!"

(To be Continued.)

* The hero in Chamisso's "Peter Schlemihl," who loses his own shadow.
† Practical joke.

* The candidate of the Bourbons or Legitimists for the throne.
† January, 1852.

‡ We shall see.
† You are all fakirs.

PROTEST.

(Continued from Page 1.)

which they have created it from, and which has been expropriated from them by the capitalistic class.

The return of the Socialist party to power will not bring the millennium, but we can at least rest assured that with the abolition of the present system of capitalistic anarchy we shall be secure of our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness which our forefathers so wisely thought to provide for in the early days of this republic. Let us remember "that it is better to vote for what you want and not get it, than it is to vote for what you don't want, and get it—IN THE NECK."

Besides these, numerous other meetings have been held by labor organizations, among these especially the Journeymen Tailors of New York. The hall was crowded and stiff resolutions were adopted.

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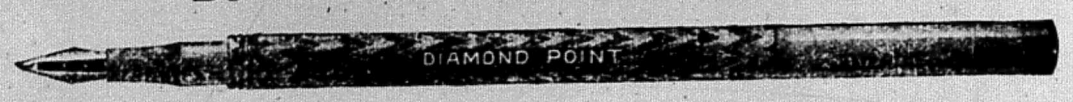

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting of September 21, with Comrade Matchett in the chair. Absent Bennett. The financial report for the week ending Sept. 18 showed receipts to the amount of $99.45; expenditures, $97.32; balance, $2.12.

The Ohio State Committee submits a statement of the number of due stamps that are out as first credit quota among the Sections of the State, and in view of the formation of many new Sections asks for an increase of the credit quota. It was resolved to add 400 stamps to the quota now held by the committee. Very encouraging reports are received from Organizers Carless and Keinard, which show that our opportunities for agitation and organization are only limited by our means.

Charters were granted for new Sections in North Lawrence, Columbus, and Osnaburg, Ohio; Ridgefield Park, N. J.; Bridgeville and Allegheny, Pa.; Collinsville, Ill.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party and all Friends of the Cause.

Comrades:—The party's agitation previous to election requires ever larger means, and the regular income of the National Executive Committee is insufficient to cover the ever growing expenditures, the less so since, owing to the fact that most States are themselves engaged in an electoral battle, our receipts are seriously impaired.

In those States where the organization is as yet weak, aid must be given by the Executive Committee, the agitation must be maintained and the field worked, for it seems exceptionally promising this year.

To obtain the means for this purpose, the Executive Committee has decided to open in the columns of the party organs a subscription for a "General Agitation Fund," and thus enable not only the party sections, but all friends of the cause to contribute their mite. The amounts received will be acknowledged each week in the party organs. There are not many weeks between now and the election; he who wants to give, let him give soon.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$8.59
A. S. Brown, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
C. C. Woodley, Toronto, Canada	50
Branch 14, Greenpoint, Brooklyn, W. S. and D. B. F.	50
Louis Finkelstein, N. Y.	50
Total	$11.00

P. S.—Sections desiring subscription lists for this fund may obtain the same from the undersigned. We have abstained from sending out lists to all Sections for the reason that many of them in various States are engaged in a campaign and cannot at this time be expected to raise extra funds.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.,
184 William street, New York City.

S. L. P. Sections, Attention!

Sections will please take notice that the Proceedings of the Ninth National Convention of the S. L. P. are now in print.

Sections as well as individual members should not fail to secure copies of the same, as it embodies a most important period of the party's history. There should be no Section in the country without having at least one or more copies in the archive for reference.

The price is 10 cents per copy. It is a handsome pamphlet of 64 pages.

Address all orders to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Massachusetts.

The following letter, sent to the Massachusetts State Committee from a small eastern town was ordered printed:

"I have been a Socialist at heart since I was a boy, but was not at all conscious of it until four or five years ago. Then I found myself working for the People's party because of their big promises in the direction of Socialism. Once in a while the statements of some of the leaders used to drop like a wet blanket upon me, until a year ago I got absolutely disgusted with the party and offered my services to the State Committee of the S. L. P. Comrade Pease, of Lynn, to whom I wrote, gave me the address of the State Committee, and sent them my letter. He also paid a half-year's subscription for THE PEOPLE for me. I told him once that I did not like the paper, but have changed my mind since in that respect, and thank him for causing the change. I send a little money now and then to THE PEOPLE, and on each occasion, no matter how small or big the remittance may be, I only place one-half of it to my own name and the balance to some new name, which I send to the office. I don't know whether any of them will become permanent subscribers or not, but I try to give them a good opportunity of realizing what a good paper it is, and what Socialism means.

"I have distributed by sale or loan about 200 copies of "Merrie England" in the last couple of years. It has cost me about $3 in cash altogether, and those that I loaned have been through several hands since I first gave them out.

"J. O. F."

The Socialist Labor party of Boston will hold an indignation meeting at Faneuil Hall, Thursday evening, Sept. 28, to protest against the massacre of the Latimer miners.

Comrades will assemble at Castle Square at 7:30 p. m., and parade to the hall.

The following organizations will participate: Cigarmakers' Union No. 97; Cap-makers, S. T. & L. A.; Bakers, S. T. & L. A.; Scandinavian Social Democratic Club, and others.

Duty demands that all the Comrades and sympathizers aid in making the parade and meeting a success.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN,
Secretary, City Committee.

New Jersey.

NEWARK.—In view of the brutal massacre of a number of miners in Luzerne County, Penn., perpetrated by a Sheriff's posse, composed of the relatives and hangers-on of the mine owners, the Socialist Labor party of Newark, N. J., will hold a Mass Protest Meeting in Oertel's Phoenix Park Hall, corner 15th and Morris avenues, on Friday evening, Sept. 24. This meeting will be addressed by able advocates of labor, and the "Cause of Labor in its Critical Condition" will be discussed in its various phases.

New York.

N. Y. CITY.—A regular meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, Sept. 25th, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Delegates should not fail to attend.

L. ABELSON, Organizer.
Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

The Sunday evening lectures arranged by the 18th Assembly District will begin on the 3d of October in Stuyvesant Hall, 17th street, near 1st avenue, with Comrade Simpson as the first lecturer.

The 18th Assembly District will meet hereafter until election every Thursday at 241 1st avenue. If you are a Socialist residing in this district, come and enlist.

BROOKLYN.—Lectures and discussions on Political, Social and Economic Questions, every Sunday evening, at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington Street.

OCTOBER PROGRAMME.

Sunday, October 3d—"Issues of the Day," Daniel De Leon.

Sunday, October 10th—"Deceptive Appearances," H. Simpson.

Sunday, October 17th—"Platform of the Socialist Labor Party," J. Allman.

Sunday, October 24th—"Classes in Free America," Dr. C. L. Furman.

Sunday, October 31st—"The Creed of Realism," Peter E. Burrowes.

All lectures begin at 8 p. m., and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting debaters to six minutes. At 9:45 the discussion will be ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

The Ticket in Westchester County, N. Y.

For Sheriff:
LOUIS GOLDBERG, of Portchester.

For Coroner:
FR. W. GASTEIGER, Portchester.

For Assembly, 1st District:
WILLIAM PFEIFFER, Mount Vernon.

Texas.

SAN ANTONIO, Sept. 15.—I think it would interest the Comrades all over the country to hear from the frontier near the land of "God and Liberty" (Mexico.) We have a Section of the S. L. P., consisting of an English and a German branch, and I want to relate two incidents which have taken place within the last few days at the meetings of the two branches.

The San Antonio "Daily Express" of Monday, Sept. 13, published a report of the meeting of the English branch held last Sunday, and, strange to say, the paper quoted the speakers, if not in full, though correctly.

Now, as to the meeting of the German branch, which I attended as organizer, and which took place last night. This branch consists chiefly of brewery workers, and therefore it was not much of a surprise to me that some of the members intimated that the branch intended a flank movement, which would land it in the Debs so-called "Social Democracy." But they reckoned without their host. Not from any hopes of keeping the branch intact, knowing full well that they had received a tip from their (mis-)leaders about that intended flank movement, but through party fealty I tried to show the would-be dissenters the fallacy of their intention. I pointed out the difference that exists in the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. and the Social Democracy. I told them to their teeth that I could not scorn, only pity them for having to obey (for fear of being locked out from the National organization of the Brewery workers) the imperative orders from above, especially in view of the fact that their national organ, the "Brauer-Zeitung" always tries to stuff their readers with such rot about self-instituted bosses in the S. L. P. I told them that to my mind it was clear that a trade union which was not part and parcel of the A. F. of L. could not be but a reactionary organization, pure and simple, and that I did not wonder that the S. T. & L. A. was a thorn in the side of their leader.

And their answer? The same old story about the S. L. P. being all right, but the people that run the concern, to quote literally: "Bohm, the thief; De Leon, the wrecker of loyal unions; Kuhn, Vogt," etc., trotted out in their organ time and again, and hashed and re-hashed until it ought to turn the stomachs of the strongest brewery workers.

Action on the matter was deferred until the national convention of the U. B. W., but I have a right to hope that the German branch will not go to pieces even if the members belonging to the Brewery Union will have to pull out, per ordre de mufti.

I forgot to mention that several of the members which did not take part in the discussion, but listened attentively, seemed to be impressed with my parting shot that it was the fault of every one of us if people were at the head of our movement which were a detriment to the same. I pointed out that it was in our power to remove them, but that the great majority of the party think that the men so bitterly reviled were the proper men at the proper places, and that I was one of that majority.

The movement here is but a reflex of the national movement—slow but sure. The free advertising we got last Monday from our capitalist "Daily Express" will some day be bitterly regretted by the same.

The only thing we are very much in need of here is a good public speaker, but we hope to be able to have one here in the near future.

FRANK LEITNER,
Organizer, Section San Antonio, Texas.

Virginia.

Virginia State Committee, S. L. P., meets at 307 West Broad street, Richmond, Va., on Sunday, Sept. 26, at 3 p. m. All the members will please attend. Business important.

J. J. QUANTZ, State Secy.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate Finklestein, of the Carl Sahm Club was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate Laughart, of the Pressmen and Feeders' Union, was vice-chairman.

The General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. notified the body that a joint meeting of all Greater New York D. A.'s would be held on October 2d. A nomination to fill the vacancy of John Kuhn as member of the G. E. B., was also requested. The following were nominated: B. Korn, D. A. No. 1; A. Schwartz, D. A. No. 49, Typograph, D. A. No. 2, and L. Fischer, D. A. No. 4.

Credentials were received from the United Marquetrie Workers' Union and Greater New York Bartenders' Union. An appeal from the Bartenders' Union No. 1, expelled last Sunday, was read. The delegates of the Marquetrie Workers were admitted, and the whole bartenders' dispute referred to the G. E. B.

The report of the Labor Day Journal Committee was received, but ordered returned for the signatures of the whole committee.

Ind. Bakers, Branch 1, L. A. No. 33, reported that the strike of the Paper Cigarette Makers had been endorsed. They had also designated three bosses to call on the House Committee of the Labor Lyceum relative to furnishing union bread. The delegate of Section Greater New York announced that a boss had appeared at the last meeting who promised to furnish the bread.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported having had a largely attended meeting last Friday, and that Delegates Ernest Bohm and August Waldinger spoke on the subject of the waiters' duty to support the Socialist Labor party in this campaign, and urging that they apply for and obtain their citizen papers. An animated discussion ensued, and the remarks were well received.

Furriers' Union requested that the resolution adopted by the late convention relative to the use made of fur skin leavings be published broadcast.

Bohemian Butchers' Union reported that it was requested by the Bohemian Bakers' Union No. 22 to attend a conference with the Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union No. 15, then to withdraw from the C. L. F. & S. T. & L. A. amalgamate and join the C. L. U. Dan Harris, it was stated, backed this scheme. It was decided to elect a committee to visit the Bohemian Butchers' Union on Tuesday night. The committee is Waldinger, Sieburg Mielenhausen, Amadi, Korn, Katz and Vogt.

Bakers, L. A. No. 33, sent a letter which contradicted and refuted the statements made by one Bergman recently expelled. The matter was declared settled.

Silver Workers' Prot. Association reported having received encouraging news from Providence, R. I., as its branch there had initiated twenty members.

Prog. Typographical Union reported having received a request from typos of Newark as to the possibility of their joining this union. An affirmative answer was given. A question relative to the "Abendblatt" was referred to the joint meeting for action.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union reported having initiated new members and organizing shops.

United Marquetrie Workers' Union reported about the strike at J. Bernard & Co. One man accepted work, but left on Saturday. The matter was referred to the Arbitration Committee.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FROM MINERS.

Fr. Lichtsin, the organizer of Section Peoria, No. 1, desires to acknowledge the receipt of the following amounts in aid of the striking miners: From W. Ihl, Chicago, Ill., $11; from Charles A. Baustian, Chicago, Ill., $15.

Domenico Palmero, Bridgeville, Pa., desires to acknowledge the receipt of the sum of $10 from the Pennsylvania State Committee for the same purpose.

Section Beidler, Ohio, also acknowledged the receipt of $25 for the striking miners from the "New Yorker Volkszeitung."

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$1,814.23
Section Blair County, Pa.	12.50
Daniel Longaker, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa	1.00
Total	$1,827.73

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Sec.

THE DAILY PEOPLE $50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to September 22d, 1897.

$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to September 21st, incl.:

Previously acknowledged	$1984.90
Jas. Ballard, Eureka, Cal., $4; G. and M. Chandler, Taunton, Mass., $2; Emil F. Kirchner, jr., City, $1; Section New Britain, Conn., 1st payment, $17	24.00
Total	$2008.90

☞ Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY —OF THE— UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Notice to Brooklyn Hydraulic Workers.

Owing to the extra demand made upon our space by the Union Square Mass Meeting, T. A. Hickey's second "Worthington" article has been crowded out. It will appear next week in the form of an open letter to the "Hydraulic Weyler"—Mr. Caldwell.

On sale every Friday at Murray's, 308 Columbia street.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following news stores in Providence:

A. P. Linn, 323 Eddy street.
J. H. J. Reilly, 941 Westminster street.
F. E. Hutchinson, 428 Smith street.
James H. Nolan, 158 Charles street.
T. J. Matthews, 1851 Westminster st.
James McGuigan, 147 Manton avenue.
Frank Randall, Cranston street, near Parade street.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.
Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians' Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (German), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Fourth street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III (German), meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42d street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists). Meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: HENRY [illegible]

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Wm. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 175 E. 4th St.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. at the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 9 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 55th St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCANDINAVISKE ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 125th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S
Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership [illegible]
Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS daily except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 5 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, N. Y.
Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, N. J.
Boston, Holyoke, Mass.
New Haven and Waterbury, Conn.
Luzern and Altoona, Pa.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S
Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1886 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing as workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a fee of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and $4.50 for another 40 weeks wether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where a branch exists, a new branch can be formed by workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY [illegible], Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd Ave., Room 6, New York City.

DR. C. L. FURMAN,
DENTIST,
121 SCHERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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Socialist Tracts.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms $1.50 per thousand:

1. "What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2. "Socialism," by William Watkins.
3. "Why American workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4. "Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5. "Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6. "A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7. "Middle Class Municipalization," the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8. "The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish.
9. "The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy. 100 copies $5.00.
10. "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel DeLeon. 5 cents a copy.

Send your order to
New York Labor News Co.,
64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.